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CRC, 3/13/2003

The Honorable Dean Rusk  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I refer to my letter to you of June 27, 1961 and Assistant Secretary Hays' reply dated July 29, 1961, on the subject of scholarly communications and exchange with Communist China.

Mr. Hays' letter of July 29 referred to a meeting in the Department with Professor Lindbeck on this subject. Mr. Hays concluded from this meeting: "I believe, therefore, that the needs of the academic community are being met as completely as existing circumstances will permit."

I wrote to Professor Lindbeck and asked if he agreed with the Department's conclusion. I said: "My purpose in taking your time with this matter is, of course, to insure that United States policy on China does not result in a vacuum of study and forecasting about Communist China. I would appreciate it if you could help me satisfy myself that we are not operating in too much ignorance."

Professor Lindbeck does not agree that all is well. He replied in part as follows:



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"Although many handicaps and problems remain, several significant attempts are now underway to repair the almost total neglect of scholarly work on Communist China during the first decade of its existence. As in the case of American Russian studies in the post-war period, several years and large sums of money will be needed to produce a significant body of good scholarly research on Communist China.

"You ask if 'the needs of the academic community are being met as completely as existing circumstances will permit.' Scholarly communication with Communist China is unsatisfactory, as I have indicated, and the academic community in my opinion needs more information. It seems to me that there is room for active discussion and exploration by scholars and American officials to determine if 'existing circumstances' will permit an improvement."

Assistant Secretary Hays' report discouraged me especially as I recognized in it some of the same unsound reasoning which long characterized the Department's handling of the question of permitting United States newsmen to go to Communist China. No policy can be better than the information on which it is based. I believe that the national interest requires additional knowledge of conditions and trends in Communist China through increased communications between scholars here and there and through exchanges of scholars.

I would like to obtain some measure of the Government's responsibility for the "neglect of scholarly work on Communist China" to which Professor Lindbeck referred. For instance, I should like to have figures showing, for the last five years, United States Government expenditures for outside research on Communist China as compared with similar figures for outside research on the Soviet Union. I should also like to have, for the

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last five years, similar comparative expenditures by the Department of State. It would be helpful to know the corresponding figures for these categories of research which will be included in the President's budget for Fiscal Year 1963.

I should like to have a report on any obstacles, subtle or direct, which the Department of State has placed in the way of initiative by American scholars in inviting Chinese Mainland scholars to participate more extensively in international scientific meetings, including meetings held in the United States.

In my letter of June 27 I asked for "a full discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of an exchange of scholars, an appraisal of the interest and capability for such work on the part of American scholars and an estimate of the prospects for such an exchange." Mr. Hays' reply of July 29 stated that "in the absence of concrete proposals for study and research from those who broadly represent American Sinologists, we are unable to make an assessment along the lines you requested." I gather from Professor Lindbeck that representatives of the Joint Committee on Contemporary China (representing the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council) will be meeting with officials of the Department in December and that at that time they will present a paper on scholarly communication with Communist China. I therefore renew my request of June 27.

Sincerely yours,

J. W. Fulbright  
Chairman

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